1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

has its own life, so has each household. There is both a division and sharing of labour in the care of the children, in the gardening, in the cooking, and in all the activities which compose the fabric of daily life. The daily meeting of the family for its evening meal, the affection between them, and even their quarrels, all help to wield them into a close-knit unit.

The population of Lesu was 232, eleven of whom were absent working on coconut plantations. There were 66 households, in which lived 62 adult males, 63 adult females, 65 male children, 42 female children. The accompanying notes give the number now present in each household and not the number of children born in each family. Some of the children have died, others have married and formed households of their own, and others may be away. The average number of offspring per fruitful woman is 2·9.[1]

Kinship

MOIETY AND CLAN

Cutting across the local groupings are the lines of kinship. The society is divided into two exogamous moieties, *Telenga*, the fish hawk (*Pandion leucocephalus*, a marine bird which feeds on fish it catches in the shallow water of the reef), and *Kongkong*, the eagle (*Haliaëtus leucogaster*, a very large bird living in high trees, and which often feeds on marine animals which it sometimes obtains by chasing the *Telenga* and catching the food it drops). The members of each moiety regard themselves as related to each other in a classificatory manner. Each moiety is divided into a number of clans, an extended family group, all the members of

[1] For detailed information on birth and death rates see the author's article, "Vital Statistics of New Ireland (Bismarck Archipelago) as Revealed in Genealogies," *Human Biology*, September 1931, Vol. 3, No. 3.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

616 which are related in the female line.[1] The Hawk and Eagle
614 moieties appear to extend over all of New Ireland and the Tabar islands too, and the rule of exogamy functions wherever the moieties are found. The subdivision into clans, however, seems to vary in different linguistic units.[2] Because
616 of the rule of matrilocal residence, members of a clan may
614 reside in different villages, usually in near-by ones of the
591 same linguistic unit. If, for example, a Lesu man marries a woman from Ambwa, he will usually go to live there, leaving his clan relatives at Lesu. But he will return to Lesu for all rites and events in which the latter are concerned, and he will be buried there. The female members of the clan, because of the same rule of matrilocal residence, are more likely to reside in the same village and hamlet. Also, as marriages within the same village are quite common, a man will frequently not have to change his residence upon marriage.

616 Although Eagle and Hawk are the names of the two
614 moieties, there is, as far as I could learn, no theory of descent
773 from either animal.[3] The native explanation of the origin of the moiety and clan structure as well as of the whole social organization and of the culture itself is contained in a myth about their ancestral heroine, Tsenabonpil. The narrative relates in detail how the people of Lesu went to one of the Tabar islands near by because they were afraid of a pig named Luana, who ate people. The old woman,

[1] The natives have only one word, *mutingbung*, to designate both moiety and clan. They differentiate the two by prefixing the adjective "big" for moiety, and "little" for clan.

[2] This statement is based on the literature of the area and on a limited amount of survey work which I was able to do in a few brief visits to other linguistic units.

[3] Peekel, in his study of central New Ireland, refers to these birds as gods of the marriage classes, and links them both with the sun and moon. Peekel, P. G., *Religion und Zauberei auf dem Mitteren New Mecklenburg, Collection Internationale de Monographies, Ethnologiques, Anthropos*, Tom. I, 3 Fasc., pp. 6–8. I could find no evidence for either theory.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

Tsenabonpil, was left behind because she had a swollen leg (probably elephantiasis), and it was feared that she would sink the canoe. After people left, she had intercourse with a *kuwiwi* bird, and she gave birth to twin boys, Daror and Damuramurari. When the boys grew up Tsenabonpil told them that they must kill the cannibalistic pig, Luana. After many adventures they succeeded in capturing and killing him. Then the old woman sent some of the hair of the pig, attached to a coconut leaf, to Tabar, to indicate to the Lesu people that the pig had been killed. They returned in their canoes to Tabar, and now Tsenabonpil gave them their totemic structure and all knowledge. She cut marks on a tree to designate the two moieties and then made further markings as she called out the names of all the clans. At the same time she gave them knowledge of magic, of medicine, of all their crafts, and of everything else they now know. After this she and her two sons disappeared.

There is one supposition that Tsenabonpil is still alive, but where she is no one knows, and all the versions of the myth end with her disappearance.[1]

Each clan is associated with a small piece of land, occasionally with a part of a reef, or a passage of water, and sometimes all three. This clan or *tsenalis* ground is owned communally by the clan members, and on it is supposed to dwell a totemic pig or snake (sometimes both), or, in the case of water, a shark. The adjective *tsenalis* is also used to describe the animal, which is friendly to people of its clan, but hostile to those of others. The animal is supposed to have lived on this ground for ever, and it is believed that it will continue to do so.

The following is a list of clans collected in the linguistic

[1] It was quite impossible to get the natives to speculate on their social organization before Tsenabonpil gave them their present structure. She is regarded as the source of all knowledge, and beyond that they do not go.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

unit in which I lived and mostly from the village of Lesu. When the clan is foreign, that of a person from another linguistic unit who has married into this district, the fact is noted in parenthesis. A brief description of the totemic land and animal associated with each clan is also given when known. It is probable that in the past other clans, the members of which are now all dead, existed in this district. Because of the depopulation which has occurred, some clans now have only a very few members.

TELENGA (FISH HAWK) MOIETY

CLANS

Sinpop. Ground called Punbukua and located near the hamlet of Onel; animal, a pig named Tsinunas.

Sakwila. Ground named Belagila and about ten miles from Lesu; animal, a shark living in the water off the shore of Belagila.[1]

Pasabasaba. Ground is called by the same name, Pasabasaba, and consists of some rocks jutting part-way out into the water very close to the Belagila land of the Sakwila clan. Animal, a shark living in the water near by.[2]

Tsajil. Ground, a small section of the beach in the village of Langania and called by the clan name, Tsajil. No information about the animal.

Mala. Small part of beach near Pinakundo, about thirty miles from Lesu; two sharks named Lugadowai and Pamut.

Tujah. Stones jutting out into the water at the village of Langania called Kolabaruk; animal, a shark with the same name, Kolabaruk.

Palila. Ground, the small island of Jenusa close to the shore of Lesu. Tsenabonpil, the mythical culture heroine, is supposed to have lived on Jenusa and the hamlets directly opposite; animal, a pig.

[1] A plantation by the same name, Belagila, is on this land now.
[2] The name of this shark is not in my notes.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

Pananiwuk. A deep passage of water containing very large stones close to the island of Jenusa and called Selina; pig named Deklus is supposed to live under the big stone in the water. Another piece of ground called Lapalip, part of the beach off the hamlet of Pomenluasau, is also associated totemically with Pananiwuk clan. According to a myth it appears that Pananiwuk formerly had so many people in it that it split into two parts, one keeping the original name and the other being known as Lapalip. To-day they are considered as one clan.

Katombi (Tabar islands—foreign).

Linmaaruah (Fakmalak village—foreign).

Kunasarah (foreign).

Mungamap (foreign).

Mugatirin (foreign).

Paniwat.

Bunkoh.

Muhalua.

KONGKONG (EAGLE) MOIETY

CLANS

Sinimanbul. Ground on top of a mountain near the former bush hamlet, Lenopil, parallel with Lesu, but further in the bush and in the hills. The ground has two names, Kuritungaru and Tungaruth. Animal is a female snake, called Kutamel. It is said that the snake makes its appearance when a Sinimanbul person is about to die and then disappears immediately afterwards. This clan was formerly a very big one, I am told, but now has only a few people in it.

Solema. (1) Rocky shore jutting out into the sea near Onel, and (2), the bush just behind it. The first part is called Memelinat and the second Lenserima. Animal is a female snake named Luluma. Tale of how the snake appears just before a member of the clan is about to die.

Maoga. Ground called Wasaua, and is part of the beach and bush at the village of Ambwa. Two animals: a shark named Bunbunjisam and a snake called Tulut...

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

614 616

Saramangasi. Ground at the Tabar Islands, called Samatra. Two animals: a snake called Latuba and a shark, Rowilau.

Tupila. Ground has two names, Pentumasong and Ponmidaruk, and is part of the bush bordering the eastern end of Lesu. Animal is a snake called Mulamulalesu.

Tsililia. Ground called Punsimilan, and is part of the beach off the village of Ambwa and a little of the bush extending in from the beach. Shark, named Melamel, dwells in the water off the beach, and a snake, Salut, in the bush.

Kaba. Ground in the bush village of Malua (in hills back of Lesu). (Name of ground not known.) Snake on it called Muvil.

Noasa. Small part of beach and bush in from beach, half-way between the villages of Lesu and Ambwa, and called Bungmus. Snake, called Kuaterapu (female), lives in the bush part, and a shark, named Tsuntsunpal, in the water just off the beach. Only one member of this clan now survives, and he lives in Ambwa.

Peri. Beach and part of bush called Lunkenken, also between Lesu and Ambwa. Snake, called Tosali, and shark, Purau. On this site there was in the past a village called Poile. Sometime in the past an epidemic killed off most of the people in this village, and the few survivors went to either Lesu or Ambwa.

Munin. Ground and beach called Munin, and about thirty miles west of Lesu. Shark named Lagilat.

Lelil. Ground called Tsudmisit and just behind the hamlet of Penguli. Snake named Bukbugi. Only one survivor of this clan left, most of them having died from illness, according to the native tales.

Kaparak. A Tabar clan. Shark named Manbuta. In the past, I was told that the Kaparak people of the Tabar islands were buried at sea. A stone was tied to the foot of the corpse, which was then dropped into the sea. The men carrying the corpse called to the shark Manbuta, who was then supposed to come and carry the corpse to the bottom of the sea.

Eivu. A Tabar clan.

Butua. A Tabar clan.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

614
616

Tsndiwes.
Nabuath.
Lendut (foreign).
Punbunaba.
Mulaiga.
Muhtin.

Only one folk-tale, which in any way indicated descent from the *tsenalis* animal was told to me, and that referred to the *Kaba* clan, whose totemic animal is the female snake named Muvil. The tale tells how a *kaba* man named Subling was walking in the bush and heard a child cry. On going to the place from which the cry came he found a human infant, a female child of the snake, Muvil. The man took the child home with him and told the snake mother to follow. Subling and his wife brought up the child whom they call Pusaling, and Muvil, the snake mother, remained near the house until the child reached puberty and married. She had many children, all of whom of course belonged to the *Kaba* clan.

614 616 773

Besides the clan animal each piece of clan land is inhabited by the *gas*, a double of each living member of the clan. It is difficult to get a very exact idea of the *gas*, other than that each man, woman, and child possesses one, that it dies when its human counterpart dies, that it may take different forms (in one tale it appears as a dwarf), that it lives in a *lima* tree, and that it is rarely seen by its human counterpart. However, occasionally the folk-tales recount a meeting between a human being and a *gas*. One of the most interesting concerns the adventures of a man named Muk, a member of the *Sinpop* clan, who lived in the hamlet of Penguli. One day all the men of this hamlet, including Muk, went fishing, and after they caught the fish they made a fire and prepared them for cooking. They had brought no taro with them, and so Muk returned to the hamlet to

614 774 773

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

614 get some. With the taro he received from the women, he
774 was on his way back to the men on the beach, when he
773 came upon a group of *gas*, whom he mistook for men from Penguli; his own *gas* was among them. They said, "Who are you?" and he replied "Muk," and then they showed him his *gas*, also named Muk. They told him to catch a very large fish named *Un*. This he did, but the fish was too heavy for him to lift. His *gas*, however, lifted it without any effort.[1] Muk wanted to go now and find his companions, but the *gas* would not allow him to return, and took him, unwillingly, with them to the bush.

In the meantime all the men were waiting for Muk to come with the taro; finally, they had to eat the fish without it. When they returned to Penguli, they asked the women what had happened to Muk, and they could only tell how they saw Muk start off with the taro to join the men. They assumed that Muk was dead; his wife and clan relatives wailed, and preparations were begun for the mortuary rites.

However, the next day Muk returned to Penguli and related all that had happened to him, how he was not killed by the *gas* because his own *gas* protected him and did not permit the others to kill him. Muk recounted how, when the *gas* ate, the food did not stay long in their stomachs, and how immediately after eating they defaecated. The *gas*, including his own, overheard Muk telling this tale; they were cross and immediately strangled and killed him. The *gas* were never seen again. The mortuary feast was made for Muk.

614 The clan and moiety are much more than mere totemic
● 616 divisions of the society, for they are also very active function-
582 ing units. Since the moieties are exogamous, they set the structure for sex life. Members of the Hawk moiety must

[1] Many other tales stress the strength of the *gas*, which can break a man in two as if he were a small branch of a tree, or lift up a house and carry it away, etc.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930). 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

pick their mates from the Eagle moiety and *vice versa*. Transgressing this rule, either in or out of marriage, is the worse crime of Lesu society. Between the moieties there is a set of reciprocal duties, including an exchange of food at pregnancy, birth, circumcision, first menstruation, marriage, and death rites. As the members of a moiety are scattered through households, hamlets, and villages, they generally function as a unit only at these rites. The clan, on the other hand, functions frequently as an economic unit, the members assisting each other in all their important undertakings. Since it is the important old men of the clan who are the real governing force, the clan largely conditions the political structure. These men are called *orang*, which may be translated as old men of influence, rather than chief. It is they who are an informal council, meeting in the men's house and discussing and deciding any questions of importance. Young and middle-aged men listen to them with respectful attention. The position of *orang* in the clan is not inherited. At the death of one, it may fall on his brother, but there is no rule for the choice. The oldest and most influential man of the clan, regardless of his exact relationship to the dead man, will be regarded as an *orang*. His influence is based on his age, strength of his personality, and his wealth. Oratorical ability and magical knowledge also increase his prestige. The *orang* is not formally chosen by an election. In these small and primitive communities everyone knows who is the most influential man, and he maintains his position by mutual consent.

In the past, each village had a warrior chief, also called *orang*, who was distinct from the clan *orang*. He had to know war magic and was always a rich man. The position was inherited, but not in a very exact line. His brother, his brother's son, his sister's son, and his own son have all at various times inherited a dead warrior chief's position. The ability of the man and the personal preference of the old

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

The individual family provides the initial situation and the primary meaning of the kinship terms, but this does not mean that a term has exactly the same meaning regardless to whom it refers. For example, the extension of the term mother to the mother's sister, father's brother's wife, etc. (see term 1), is a linguistic extension, and does not necessarily mean that sociologically they are equivalent. A native never confuses his mother and mother's sister (and all the other relatives to whom the term mother is used) with each other, although he may call them all by the same name. There is a decided difference in emotional tone according to whether the term mother is used towards a real mother or one of the other relatives to whom the term also refers. A classificatory mother does not observe the sexual taboos of a real mother. As Professor Malinowski has shown, the use of the same term emphasizes the similarities in the two relationships and ignores the differences.

While the kinship terminology extends throughout the moiety, i.e. a man calls all the women of his own moiety and generation, who are not otherwise related to him, sister, the initial pattern of behaviour formed within the immediate family is not always extended so far. Behaviour patterns, for the most part, tend to grow fainter and vaguer as the actual kinship relationship becomes more extended. Within the immediate family, and also within the clan, behaviour is closely correlated with the terminology. The weakening of the behaviour associated with certain terms occurs to a very small degree within the clan. But outside the clan, and in the further removed extensions, there may be no correlation, or very little, of behaviour with kinship terminology. For example, the behaviour of a man towards his *korup* (see term 14), who is his cross-cousin or mother-in-law, is one of strict avoidance, and this behaviour extends to all women of his *korup's* clan and generation, who are not otherwise related to him; but it does not extend to the

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

CHAPTER II

INFANCY

843 AMONG the Lesu people an impending birth is a matter of communal concern. The news that a woman is pregnant spreads rapidly, and is almost immediately celebrated with a special ceremony. When Lagina failed to menstruate for a month some women came to her hamlet (Onel) expecting to hold pregnancy rites. But they decided to postpone them for a month just to make sure that she really was pregnant. And so at the end of two months, when everyone was quite certain that Lagina was going to have a child, the appropriate ritual was held.

843 616 Lagina is a member of the Hawk moiety. A group of Hawk women go to the house of Molung, who is of the Eagle moiety and a member of the Solema clan, which is the clan of the pregnant woman's husband. The Hawk women, faces smeared with white lime, advance joyfully and laughingly and push each other into Molung's house, pull the fire to pieces, throw the hot wood and stones through the doorway to the compound outside, and then hilariously dance around the place where the fire had been. This is the *Grimisi* dance. Lagina, the pregnant woman, is present, but takes no part in the proceedings, and stands aloof in the background. Molung, who sees her house being thrown into confusion, stands aside, smilingly. When the women have finished their dancing, Molung, assisted by her husband, gives each of the Hawk women a few uncooked taro and four or five coconuts. Then off they go, carrying the food in their baskets, to Brakko's house. She also is a member of the Solema clan and Eagle moiety. The same scene is enacted there. It is all done in a spirit of playful fighting—fighting because they come in and disrupt the fire, create

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10.
Lesu

disorder and confusion; but play in that it is all done laughingly, and the native term for it *muril* is literally translated "play fight." Brakko also gives the Hawk women coconuts, and now they return home. Both Molung and Brakko are assisted in the collection of the necessary taro and coconuts for this rite by women of the Solema clan.

But even though the rule is that it is the Hawk women who dance and engage in their more or less destructive gaiety when an Eagle woman is pregnant, or *vice versa*, this does not prevent the exception from happening. At the scene just described, Maerabit, a member of the Eagle moiety, joins in the dancing of the Hawk women. But its only significance, according to the natives, is that Maerabit always plays the clown and joins in any dancing or fun that may be going on. She is a grandmother and a woman past middle-age, but she is also a born jester, and is always amusing the crowd with her antics. The mere fact that her moiety would ordinarily bar her from participating in these hilarious rites will not stop her. Her grown-up daughters are ashamed of their mother's clownishness, and occasionally remonstrate with her, but Maerabit goes joyously on.

The playful fighting does not stop at the end of the one occasion just described, but is continued all during the pregnancy period, whenever the women of the village are assembled. Perhaps they are sitting on the ground chatting, after finishing their cooking, when suddenly a woman of the Hawk moiety jumps on the back of an Eagle woman, or pulls her loin-cloth, or jumps up and down on the outstretched legs of the woman as she sits on the sand. It is always done playfully and with much laughter both on the part of the participants and of the onlookers. The mother of the pregnant woman, both real and classificatory, is the particular victim of the women of the opposite moiety. But frequently the clowning becomes quite general, all the

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

843
616
522
843

women present engaging in it. For a first pregnancy it is carried on more extensively than for a later one.

If it is the first one, the pregnant woman exchanges part of a baked taro with a woman who has had children successfully. The latter will eat half of a baked taro and give the remaining half to the expectant mother, who will return the gift with another half of a taro. It is believed that this exchange of taro will help the woman to deliver her child successfully. On the whole, she eats perhaps a little less than she did before. She thinks that if she eats too much the embryo will "fight" in her stomach. Certain fish containing many bones are taboo for either the pregnant woman or her husband to eat. This, however, is not strictly a pregnancy taboo, as it holds during the whole time of possible child-bearing, and applies to both the mother and her husband. It is believed that if the fish is eaten by either one, the future children will be hurt. When the child-bearing period is past the fish can be eaten. During childhood it is taboo to the female child, but not to the male.[1]

The woman who is pregnant goes about her daily work much as usual, and there is no custom of stopping work before the expected birth. However, exceptions are made in special cases. When one woman who had had several children born dead was again pregnant, she did not work quite as hard as usual after the fifth or sixth month. In her garden

[1] My discovery of the fish taboo came about in this way. A man from a bush village, but now living on the coast, presented me with a fish he had caught in return for a slight service I had rendered in giving some medicine to his sick child. Various women were present when the fish was given me, and immediately there was a great uproar—scolding of the man, much loud and angry talk, and the fish was taken away from me. It was not until they had quieted down somewhat that I could get at the cause for this sudden anger. It was explained that if I had eaten this fish I would never have healthy children, or perhaps they would be born dead. The man who had wanted to give me the noxious fish was called "an ignorant fool from the bush," after the women were convinced that he had no malicious intentions towards my "future children."

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

both arms. A second woman sits in front, holding the legs wide open, and catches the child as it comes out. If the head does not come first some woman known for her skill will insert two fingers or the whole hand in the vulva and assist the delivery of the child with the fingers. Both of these women are usually of the opposite moiety from the parturient woman. Her mother, although present, is never one of them. The natives give as a reason that the mother is ashamed to look at her daughter's sexual organs. Sometimes, while the birth is taking place, one woman will massage the stomach of the parturient woman and recite a spell as she does so. All these women who have been of assistance at the birth will later be paid for their services. At the birth of the infant Murri in the village of Ambwa, the mother, Luga, was supported by a woman of her moiety, and wife of the infant's father's classificatory brother. In front, assisting the deliverance of the child was a woman of the opposite moiety and classificatory sister of the infant's father.

After the child is born, the mother bathes in the sea, rubbing her abdomen with a downward motion to get rid of the after-birth. She comes back, feeds the child, and then lies down in the house on the bamboo bed with her infant. Should the mother's breasts not be sufficiently developed, another woman will suckle the infant. She is selected merely for the fullness of her breasts, and with no regard to her relationship to the child or its mother. The mother remains in the house with the child for about a week.

The umbilical cord, *bitung*, is saved by the mother and put in a basket along with some *tsera* (currency). It is kept in this manner until adult life, when it is sometimes thrown away.

A few hours after the birth the baby is held over a fire made of dry grass and coconut shells, and water is poured over him. Both the smoke of the fire and the water are supposed to make the infant strong. The infant's mother's

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

sounded from within the enclosure. While the women sit and chat after the taro is in the *liga*, Macrabit, as usual, plays the part of the clown. She causes much merriment by taking a fishing-net and walking about with it as if she were a man. Two other old women play a form of hide-and-seek, hiding behind the trees and walking about in a creeping fashion. So also do they sit playfully on the legs and backs of other women. This occurs between women of different moieties, and resembles on a small scale the playful fighting of the pregnancy rites. I was told that it is now done because the boys were to be circumcised soon.

When the food is removed from the *liga*, most of it is left at Ponatlege, although the men eat a small part of it in the compound in front of the men's house, and some small bundles are taken home by the women. As they walk home, single file along the narrow footpath, baskets on their backs, some of them do their dancing step. There is a general air of jollification.

Late that afternoon much excitement and a real "before the ball"[1] atmosphere prevails. The women arrange the yellow *puhpuh* flower in their hair, put on their best loin-cloths and their *kepkeps* (breast ornaments) and *biuks* (arm-bands).[1] At sunset there is a final short dance rehearsal under Ballock's direction. When this is over all the women, much excited and carrying bundles of the yellow *puhpuh* as well as having stuck it behind the ear, start off for Ponatlege. The men set out a bit later. As the women enter the hamlet, an old man gives each one some white lime which she puts on her face.

Women and men from Langania and Ambwa are also present. The latter sit in small groups in front of the men's house and out in the compound. The women begin dancing almost immediately, and the men, much interested, watch

[1] There was also a demand for red crêpe paper and tinsel trimming from me, both of which were twisted around the hair.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

881 A feast is held on the day of the ritual washing. The village
616 women of both moieties come, bringing their taro, to the hamlet where the girl lives, and there they prepare it to be baked in the *liga*. The girl herself is present, but does not help in the preparations. Then the women of the *Telenga* moiety give the food that they have brought and prepared to the women of the *Kongkong* moiety, and *vice versa*. The girl is given a bundle of taro specially prepared for her by her father's sister. If the girl is of the *Telenga* moiety, the *Telenga* women advance singing, carrying bundles of taro given to them by the *Kongkong* women, to the place where the girl is
[533] sitting and pile the food up in front of her. They sing:

Nama maagulip igitupmi
maresik weh weh
ngat amni tso ogaluna.[1]

The *Telenga* women then remain sitting by the girl near the pile of food contributed by the *Kongkong* women, who sit a short distance away by their pile of food given by the *Telenga* women. Each group eats a little, and then loads the remainder in their baskets to carry home, where the whole family get their share.

[565] This is one of the few ritual occasions which is dominated by the women. But the relationship of the girl to her father seems to be stressed at this time, as the women in discussing this matter with me always emphasized the fact that the women giving the food to the girl and the members of her moiety are of the same moiety as her father. Although the girl is betrothed and her wedding rites follow shortly, there is no mention that it is her future husband's moiety who is giving her taro.

841 Before describing the wedding rites which come some time during the next month, the subject of menstruation in

[198] [1] This I am unable to translate. Most of the songs of this people are in some obsolete and forgotten language, and they themselves do not know the meaning of the words.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

431 away to work for the white man in New Hanover—the Rabaul district—said that there they had observed the custom of the sale of food between kin and friends. The New Ireland people regarded this as disgusting, and expressed their scorn in words, tone, and facial expression.

RECIPROCAL EXCHANGE

431
437
46 Reciprocal exchange is distinguished from trade in that in the former exactly similar objects are exchanged, while in the latter it is dissimilar objects. Reciprocity occurs between individuals and groups. There is reciprocal exchange of food between members of the opposite moieties at birth, first menstruation, circumcision, and marriage rites. At these feasts there are two piles of food, one contributed by the members of the Hawk moiety and the other by members of the Eagle moiety. The uncooked food is arranged in two piles (as at the marriage rites) looking exactly equal, and the food brought by the members of the Eagle moiety is given to the women of the Hawk moiety, and *vice versa*. At a birth feast the baked food is distributed in the same way. The Eagle women bring their taro, prepare it for baking, and place it in the *liga* themselves. They do not forget just where their bundles have been placed. Removing them from the *liga*, they give them to the women of the Hawk moiety. The taro is exactly the same, and prepared in the same fashion, so one gets exactly what one has given. But it is the exchange between members of opposite moieties which is regarded as important. While this exchange is between individuals, it is moiety structure which regulates it, and it is regarded by the natives as an exchange between moieties as well as between individuals. At the circumcision rites we saw also how the exact amounts of betel-nut and *tsera* were exchanged between members of opposite moieties.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

The mothers of the Eagle boys contributed eight *tsera*, which was distributed to the clan relatives of the Hawk boys. Their mothers also contributed eight *tsera*, which was given to the clan relatives of the Eagle boys (see Chapter IV, pp. 112–113.

There are also reciprocal gifts between individuals which have no relation to the moiety structure. In case of a quarrel the rift is mended by an exchange of exact amounts of *tsera*. For instance, there was a quarrel between Brakko and Manumat, who live in different hamlets. Brakko is the daughter of a former chief, now dead, and one of the leading women of the community. Manumat is one of the middle-aged men of the village. Manumat's sister is away working on a plantation on another island, and sent a message to Sigar, a woman of Brakko's hamlet, to come and work there also. Sigar goes and Brakko is very angry, and wants to know who will look after Sigar's garden. The women of the hamlet are very busy and Sigar's departure has upset their work. Brakko's anger is directed against Manumat (Sigar's brother) and angry words are exchanged between them. Their quarrel is witnessed by many of the villagers, who rush to see it, which is in contrast to their polite indifference to quarrels between husband and wife. A few days later Manumat gives Brakko five *tsera* and she gives him another five *tsera*. This reciprocal exchange ends the quarrel, although the final conclusion is not till a month later, when there is a feast, for which Manumat provides the pig. It is assumed that he has been the one to blame, or at least his sister, whose blame he takes.

Then there are reciprocal gifts for which there is no ritual or any other reason, as far as can be observed. These gifts are a portion of a pig. At the usual feast all the pigs are not consumed, and a head, or hind quarter, or some other fairly large portion of the animal, is given by the owner to someone present. This may be a return gift for a similar present which

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

465 dancing at the funeral rites for an old woman the dancers
535 were urged on by the shouts of the old woman's daughter,
437 who told them of the tobacco they would receive in the morning. It is obvious that both men and women enjoy their dancing, and that payment for it is not a primary consideration. The dancing is a very deep and integral part of the traditional and ritual part of the life of the society, as well as a means of self-expression for the individual. Yet dancing falls into the general culture pattern, and, since it is considered a service to those for whom the rites are held, it is paid for. The dancing teacher, who may teach a variation of an old dance, or a completely new one learned on another island, or rehearse the old steps, receives his payment too. At the end of the rehearsals, and just before the rite is to be performed, he receives a stick of tobacco from each of his "pupils."

465 Another ritual service which always receives its compensa-
767 tion is that of carrying a corpse from the house where it had been resting to its grave in the cemetery. Those who perform
● 616 this service are always of the opposite moiety from the dead
437 person, and, while it is a ritual obligation for them, they are paid with a small piece of *tsera* or one shilling.

437 Even for sexual enjoyment there is a payment of currency.
837 For all extra-marital intercourse the man makes a payment of one *tsera* to the woman, who hands it over to her husband. This aspect will be considered more fully in the discussion of sexual life, but it must be noted here that the woman would consider it disgraceful if the payment were not made, and that there is nothing similar in the payment to the custom of prostitution of our Western civilization. A woman does not sleep with her lover for the payment any more than he or she dances for a payment, but the payment is part of it. Underlying the payment is the principle of reciprocity which is such an integral part of the whole culture.

583 Marriage payments are in the same class. We have already
437

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

The death of Maling, an old woman, was not unexpected. She had been ill for a long time, and her daughter, Tubung, had been affectionately taking care of her. Her husband was already dead, and so was her son. Her sister's daughter's son, Soles, and her mother's brother's daughter's husband, Malalis, are the leading men of her clan. Because her death was expected any moment, Soles went to Ambwa, known for its good fishing, to make arrangements for securing a large catch of fish for the expected mortuary rites. The next day, in the middle of the afternoon Maling died, and immediately the wails were heard. Her daughter, Tubung, Soles, and Malalis led in the wailing, but soon they were joined by everyone in the hamlet and immediate community. The news of the death spread rapidly, and members of Maling's clan, many of them with their families, began arriving on the scene; the wails swelled in volume. In the meantime Maling's body was carried by Hawk women to the sea and washed. Maling was a member of the Eagle moiety, and the washing is always done by a member of the opposite moiety and the same sex. After the washing the same women put the corpse into a coffin, made of an old canoe with the pointed ends removed and a flat board put in their place, which was then placed in a room of the daughter's house. This house has two rooms, and the outer wall of the one in which the corpse was placed was removed, thus leaving it exposed to the compound. The women went to Tubung's garden and got taro, which they then piled on each side and in front of the coffin. Leaves were also stuck in with the taro. In front of the coffin was the bamboo *bäk*, a structure in which the corpse is supposed to rest, but which is not functioning. The relatives and other members of the community came and wailed over the coffin, but Tubung and Soles wailed the most continuously.

At nightfall the women of the village danced, while some of them beat out the rhythm on drums. The men looked

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

APPENDIX II

INTERMARRIAGES BETWEEN CLANS

Clans of the Eagle moiety are designated by numbers and clans of the Hawk moiety by letters. The number of marriages between members of each clan and members of different clans of the opposite moiety is recorded. A total of 413 marriages was studied.

Eagle Clans	Hawk Clans																												
	a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	*i*	*j*	*k*	*l*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*	*q*	*r*	*s*	*t*	*u*	*v*	*w*	*x*	*y*	*z*	*aa*	*bb*	*Total*
1	3	5	7	2	5	1	6	1		1	5		1				3												40
2	14	31	12	1	1	1	2			3	16			1				2				7					2	2	95
3	1	7	1		2	1					1				1		1	1											16
4	1	20	17		1				1	11	6		2		2		1	1							1				64
5	9	22	7				1	1		1	6				1		1								1				50
6	5	10	10		5	2				2	3	2	1	1	1		1					2					1		46
7	12	1	2								1		1	1								15	1	1	5	1	1		42
8		1																											1
9		1																											1
10		2			1						1				3														7

INTERMARRIAGES BETWEEN CLANS

349

582
614
616

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	TOTAL
1						2																						413
2																												
3																							1					
4																										4		
5				2	1				1																			
6				1				5				1																
7	1																											
8			1							1	2																	
9				1	2		3	1																				
10		1	2	1	4	1	1		2																			
11		1	2	1	1			1	1		3																	
12																								3		1		
13																												
14																												
15																												
16																												
17																												
18																												
19																												
20																												
21																												
22																												
23																												
24																												
25																												
26																												
27																												
TOTAL																												

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30);1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

continuing dance rehearsals. A woman just past middle age named Kawitti died rather unexpectedly. The night before her death she left her husband's house and went to her sister's son's house close by. Her own son was away at a distant village. Two other old women, one of whom did die, while the other recovered, went immediately to the houses of their respective daughters. Two younger women who were very ill went to their respective mother's house. In each case the mother or the daughter affectionately cared for the sick person. But this did not prevent the husband of a sick woman from being attentive also. When Pulong was ill her husband roamed the bush looking for delicacies such as sugar cane, or made a new bamboo bed for her, or supported her while she sat up. When Nunda, an old woman, was ill and expected to die all the women of the neighbouring hamlets brought their cooking to the compound in front of the house where she was lying. The night before the death of a young man, Walketei, the women of the village did not have their dance rehearsal, which had been held nightly for the past month. In one case, that of the death of the old woman, Maling, preparations for the mortuary feast were begun before she actually died. Her grandson in the female line went to a nearby village where the fishing was very good and made arrangements to secure a large catch for the expected mortuary feast.

BURIAL

Immediately the death occurs the rites begin in earnest. Wailing starts at the moment life leaves the body. While everyone in the community wails, there is a difference in the intensity and duration of their wailing. The consort, the parents, the children are the chief mourners and wail the most. Next come the other clan relatives, and after them the rest of the village.[6]

The wailing is interrupted by the carrying of the corpse to the sea to be washed. This is always done by people of the same sex

[6]Should the children be absent at the time of the death, they return with all possible haste. The members of the same clan as the dead native will travel (walk) to distant villages for the funeral, sometimes as much as thirty or forty miles. Their consorts frequently accompany them, but it is always clear that these are in the position of satellites.

2: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

and opposite moiety, *i.e.*, an "Eagle" woman would be washed by a "Hawk" woman, and vice versa. The same people then carry the corpse (male or female) to the men's house, or to the house where the person had formerly lived. In discussing the matter, a native will tell you that the custom is to take the corpse to the men's house, but as a matter of actual practice the writer observed that it was more often brought back to its former house, or, in the case of an old woman, to a daughter's house. The corpse is clothed in its loin cloth (this of course is an innovation, the loin cloth having been introduced by the whites) and set upon a bamboo structure called *bāk*,[7] in the doorway of the house. The corpse is propped up on this structure and the only native explanation is that this is something to hold the body over which the mourners will wail. At most of the funerals witnessed the *bāk* was there, but not functioning. Instead, the corpse was lying inside the house on the usual bamboo bed. The reason given for not using the *bāk* was that the corpse could not be made to sit upon it—the legs were too swollen, or some other similar reason. As soon as the body has been set upon its *bāk*, or bier, wailing is continued. By this time the people from hamlets near by have arrived, and soon those from the distant part of the village have come also. Word is immediately carried to the neighbouring villages and from these come in particular the clan relatives of the dead person. The wailing is kept up almost continuously day and night, until the body is buried. This period may be from one to three days, depending upon the age and prestige of the person who has died. During this interval preparations for the burial feast are in progress and naturally the longer the interval the more food can be collected and prepared.

The women go to the gardens and bring in the taro and then begin the work of scraping it and preparing it to be baked. Sometimes one sees the women scraping the taro and wailing at the same time. The men, in the meantime, are bringing in firewood, tending the *liga* (the pile of hot stones in which the food is baked), or are concerned with cooking pigs or fish. The actual direction of the preparations for the feast is in the hands of a clan relative—

[7] *ā* as in hat.

2:Powdermaker E-5 (1929-30)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

a son or daughter, a nephew or uncle, on the mother's side, or a mother. The consort during this period is spending all his time wailing, and not taking any part in the actual preparations.

During this interval between death and burial there is a fairly large group of people assembled at the hamlet where the death occurred. All the clan relatives and their consorts—the extended family—and sometimes a few others are there. At night the sexes sleep separately. All the women sleep in one house and all the men in another, or perhaps the men sleep out of doors in a compound in front of a house. There is abstention from all sexual relations.

If the funeral is that of a very old person and the rites are being carried out in full detail dancing is part of the ceremonial. At the funeral of an old and important woman, Maling (her sister's son was a chief), there was dancing on the two nights which elapsed between the time of death and the burial. Maling died early in the day and that night all the women of the village and the neighbouring villages danced. The next night the men of the village and of neighbouring villages danced. On the following morning the corpse was buried. Each night dancing went on continuously until sunrise. Different groups danced, so that no one person danced all night long. The whole community (the village and neighbouring ones) was present as an audience. If the energy of the dancers appeared to flag, the daughter of the dead woman exhorted them to continue with promises of the payment which would later be made to them. The dances were the traditional ones used on all ritual occasions, and participants were members of the community, regardless of their kinship to the dead person. Dancing is a part of the rites only when the dead person is very old.

The actual burial, however, does not vary very much according to the age of the dead person. Some time in the interval preceding burial the corpse is put in its coffin, usually an old canoe with the pointed ends removed. Members of the opposite moiety carry the corpse from the house in which it has been resting into the cemetery. They are decorated with leaves and white lime is used as a facial adornment. These pall-bearers advance in a square formation, singing, lift up the corpse, circle around the compound two or three times with it and finally carry it into the cemetery. At the same

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

197 The next group (a coastal language) is spoken at Tandis, Limba, Lang-inia, Lassu, Amba.

Then the group spoken at Lemasong, Konnos and Konobin, which is said to extend to the West coast villages—Lamau, Lambak, &c.

The next group is said to extend from Pinigindu to Bulu, and through the Lelet plateau villages across to Mesi and other villages on the West coast, the dialects differing slightly.

Another dialect is found at Logon, and extends past Karu into the Namatanai district.

184 614 616 In the social organization there are two main divisions, which agree geographically with the coastal linguistic distribution. From Kavieng to Fatmilak the people are divided into multiple totemic clans with matrilineal descent; from Limalaua to Karu dual organization with the Eagle and the Hawk representing the totems of the clans. The Karu organization is slightly complicated, as will appear later.

614 In both divisions the clans are sub-divided into smaller groupings, each one of which is in some way associated with ancestral ghosts *masolei* or *maselei* (Kavieng to Fatmilak) *misili* (Limalaua to Karu).

The multiple clans represented in the social organization of the people living between Kavieng and Fatmilak are as follow:—

Clan (*eril bung* or *pambong*).	Totem (*mani* or *manu*).	——
A—Monga Kamade	Bungbunga (Hornbill) ..	Fatmilak
	Bangbanga	Luaupul
Moga Kamade	Babanga	Madina
	Bangabanga	Lakurumau
Mogon Kamari	Awoi-iang	Ngavelus
B—Monga Nuas	Balus (Blue Pigeon)	Fatmilak
Monga Nungas	Valus	Lugagun
Mogong Ge	Valus	Ngavelus
C—Monga Muna	Minungak (Eagle)	Fatmilak
	Manungak	Lauaupul
Moga	Munungak	Madina
D—Monga Soluba	Arigaum (Hawk)	Fatmilak
Mariba	.. ..	Kafkaf
Maiba	Regaum	Lakurumau
	Tegaum	Luburua
Miwa	Tegum	Lamekot
	Tekaum	Ngavelus
E—Monga Kala	Harok (red bird nest in ground)	Fatmilak
Kale	Karuk	Lauaupul
Moga Kela	Aiuk	Lakurumau
	Iok	Fongalava
Kala	A Kua	Lamekot
	Guok	Nonapai
Mogong Kali	Kuok	Ngavelus
	Gok	Livitua
F—Monga Tiring or Tiri-in au (Frigate bird)	.. ..	Fatmilak
Tirin	.. ..	Lugagun
Tivinguru ..	.. ..	Lakurumau
	Raula	Fongalava

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

614

Clan (*evit bung* or *pambong*).	Totem (*mani* or *manu*).	—
G—Monga Maf	Mangaf (Keet)	Kafkaf
H—Monga Titian	Tutut (Swamp Pheasant) ..	Madina
I—	Kikiak (blue bird fisheater)	
J—Mongo Ke	Kanai (Gul—said to come from New Hanover)	
K—Mogo Momoi-ia	Eara (Blue Parrot)	Lugagun
Naga	Wai-ia	
Wai-ia	.. ..	Lamekot
Nega	A Kat	Livitua
L—Mogang Kala	(Probably same as E)	
M—Moni Tak	A Wut (Small blue bird)	
N—	Tiu (Small bush bird, Fish-eater)	
O—Mogo Tivunalua ..	Maiau (Coconut-eating crab)	
P—Moga Mokon	Kai-au (Bush fowl)	

The clan name is known as *evit bung* sometimes *pambong*; the totem name is *mani* or *manu;* while the social sub-divisions are known as *masolei, maselei* or *misili.* The clan and totem names vary slightly throughout the district according to dialectical changes, e.g. *harok* Fatmilak becomes *iok* at Fongalava, while *wai-ia* Lugagun becomes *kako* at Livitua; some of these variations appear in my notes, but there are doubtless others that I have not recorded.

582 616

The clans are exogamous. Between Limalaua and Karu inclusive the clansmen of the Eagle marry the clanswomen of the Hawk, while the clanswomen of the Eagle marry the clansmen of the Hawk. In Karu, however, where it is difficult to distinguish the clans and sub-divisions, owing perhaps to culture contact with mutiple clan people of the Namatanai district, which has confused the local grouping and broken the dual organization, I found instances of marriage between people of the same main social group. It was said that the people are divided into two main groups Malom with the Eagle as totem and Aragu with the Hawk as totem. Groups said to be sub-groups of Malom are Liongo, Hobon, Saut, Karu, Kogo, Kunimi and Kubiomara; groups said to be sub-groups of Aragu are Umalik, Hono, Lodogon, Kubu, Kuton and Nalagos. I was informed that members of the same sub-group could not intermarry, but I found on examining the marriages of the people now living that this expressed rule has been broken several times. The breaches are as follow: In the Aragu group Umalik has married Hono and Kuton, Lodogon has married Kubu, and in the Malom group Liongo has married Hobon, Hobon has married Karu, Saut has married Karu. I found no marriages, however, between a man and woman of the same sub-group. The language spoken at Karu and Logon is said to extend to Kanavit in the Namatanai district.

582 614

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

582 Within the multiple groupings between Fatmilak and Kavieng
614 marriage within the clan is forbidden, and in some places, I was
informed, the multiple clans are definitely divided into two inter-
616 marrying divisions. Even the natives themselves told me on more
than one occasion that "such and such" a clan was "brother" to
"such and such" a clan. My notes of the marriages that have actually
taken place, however, do not confirm this division into two sets of
inter-marrying clans. Until further evidence is available, therefore,
I am inclined to think that the so-called brotherhood of clans may be
due to a genealogical relationship between the members of certain clans
which debars marriage between them. In Lugagun district, for
instance, I was told that the multiple clans are divided into the
following inter-marrying divisions: 1.—F, D, C, A, E, H;
2.—G, B, K, J.

582 Between Lugagun and Lamekot, however, which is the district
614 referred to, I found in my table of marriages between people recorded
on the census the following breaches of this supposed rule:—

B married G.
D married A, F, E, C, H.
C married D, F, H, E, A.
A married D, F, C, H.
G married B.
E married C, F, H, D, A.
F married D, E, A, C.
H married D, C, F, E, A.

In Fatmilak F and H and B and J were said to be "brother" groups, that is to say, F could not marry H and B could not marry J. In my census of that village neither of the groups H, J is named at at all. On the completion of the census I was informed that names entered under F (Monga Tiri-in) comprised many people of H, and the names under B comprised J as well. (Kanai is said to be an introduction from New Hanover, and in other villages its group name is known as Mogo Ke.) In Madina G and B are said to be "strong brothers," and in my census of that village no marriage between the two groups has been recorded.

The suggested inter-marrying divisions of the clans, however, is a matter of great importance and should be investigated intensively. I have mentioned it to Dr. Hortense Powdermaker, who is at present working among the dual people at Lassu, and possibly she may be able to go into the matter before she leaves the district.

In general, throughout the Kavieng-Fatmilak district, clan exogamy is observed, but occasionally, especially as one approaches Kavieng, marriages within the same social group are observed. In Kavieng

5: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1932 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

stones, and when these are hot they are leveled and the food put between them. Leaves and sand are then put over it, and the food remains there until it is baked. Men are working in groups of two or three, but not very continuously, wrapping a fish or a pig in leaves preparatory to baking, or bringing in leaves from the bush to wrap around the food. Their work in this connection is never as steady as the women's work. A man may tend to the liga and then loll around for a half hour or more, until there is something else to do. Frequently the men will take care of the babies, while the mothers scrape the taro. The main work of cooking falls upon the women; although the men do assist, this does not break into the sexual division of labor.

When the women have finished preparing the taro (for a big feast this takes at least three or four hours), and after it has been placed in the liga, the ground on which they have been working is cleaned and they take their ease. Until now they have been working seriously and without stopping, except perhaps to nurse a baby. There has been no talking except for the necessary remarks about the taro. Now they sit in the same place smoking their pipes and chatting. Gossip is exchanged, jokes are told and followed with appreciative laughter, and here and there a woman is engaged in the pastime of searching for lice in a friend's or relative's hair. If a woman of the village has just become pregnant, there will be playful fighting between the women of the opposite moieties. This part of the pregnancy rites occurs whenever there is a group of women present. The men in the meantime are a short distance away, on the beach, in the compound in front of the men's house or some other house, in groups of two or three, smoking and chatting but not in any large group. This period—while the food is baking in the liga—is an easy, convivial, feminine communal occasion, as is the eating which follows for the men.

Description of Feast

Three or four hours later, when the food has been baked, the men and boys carry it in their hands into the cemetery. For the men the cemetery serves as a banqueting hall and most of the men's ritual feasts are held there.[11] Women are never permitted in the cemetery for a feast, or at any other time, except at a burial, and then they leave immediately after the interment.[12]

[11] The economic feasts in payment to workers are not always held in the cemetery, and the malanggon ones are held in a special structure erected for them. The connection of eating in the cemetery with mortuary beliefs must be considered at another time.

[12] However, I was invited to all the feasts, and the invitations were always accepted.